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DECLARATION ON EUROPEAN SECURITY

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The representatives of the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Albania, with the participation of an observer from the Chinese People's Republic, met at a conference in Moscow in order to review the situation which had arisen in Europe in connexion with the decisions of the London and Paris conferences of certain western States.

The governments of the states participating in this conference express their regret that not all European states found it possible to take part in the discussion of the situation thus created. The initiators of the London and Paris Agreements, the USA, France and Great Britain, have also not taken part in this conference. Their answer dated November 29th showed that they are endeavouring to press through the ratification of the Paris Agreement at all costs.

On October 23rd agreements affecting West Germany were signed at the conference in Paris. This had been preceded by a conference in London of the nine countries: USA, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and Canada. These agreements envisage the remilitarisation of West Germany, and its inclusion in military groupings — the North Atlantic Bloc and the "West European Union" which has been patched together again.

Quite recently attempts were undertaken to carry out the restoration of German militarism by remilitarizing western Germany under the banner of the notorious "E.D.C." These attempts have failed, as they met with natural resistance on the part of European peoples, and primarily on the part of the French people. Now the restoration of German militarism is being attempted under another banner, whereby everything is done so as to speed up the ratification of the Paris agreements with this aim.

In such a situation the Governments of the countries participating in the present conference consider it necessary to draw the attention of all European States to the fact that the realization of the Paris agreements will bring about a serious deterioration in the situation in Europe. The realization of these agreements will not only create new and still greater obstacles on the road to settling the German problem, on the road to restoring the unity of Germany as a peaceloving and democratic State, but they will oppose one part of Germany to its other part, transforming western Germany into a dangerous hotbed of a new war in Europe.

Instead of furthering the peaceful settlement of the German problem, these agreements give a free rein to the militarists and revenge seekers in western Germany and increase the threat to the security of the peoples of Europe. The Paris agreements are in direct contradiction to those possibilities for a further easing of tension in international relations which were recently revealed.

Thanks to the efforts of the peace-loving states, the war in Korea was brought to an end in the middle of the past year. The Geneva Conference this year helped to end the eight-year war in Indo-China, and to bring about the well-known settlement of the situation in this area. The conclusion cannot be avoided that in the United Nations Organisation there has been a certain progress in the negotiations on the questions of a general limitation of armaments, and the prohibition of atomic weapons. All this has been achieved despite the attitude of the aggressive circles of certain states, aimed at sharpening the international situation.

At the same time the ruling circles in a number of the states concerned with the London and Paris Agreements are steering the dangerous course of reestablishing German militarism without regard for the consequences, just at the moment when the circumstances for adjusting present international problems have improved.

The Paris agreements envisage the creation of a 500,000-strong west German army. The number of these west German armed forces is five times the number of the army permitted some time ago for the whole of Germany, according to the Versailles peace treaty, even though it is known that the 100,000-strong German Reichswehr, created then, was the basis for the creation of a multi-million Hitlerite army. Even now German militarists do not hide that they reckon on a further expansion of the west German army, first to 12, then to 30 and then to 60 divisions.

The creation of an army in western Germany will in fact mean its superiority over the armies of the other members of the Western European Union, unavoidably leading to the result that the armed forces at the disposal of the western German militarists will occupy a dominant position in western Europe.

The great danger of the establishment of a West German army can be seen from the fact that this army would be headed by generals of the former Hitlerite Wehrmacht, who only a short while ago were organisers and participants in the fascist aggression against the nations of East and West Europe.

Contrary to international agreements on the liquidation of the German war potential, war industry is being openly restored in western Germany. The Ruhr heavy industry is being switched over even to a greater extent to the production of armaments. One must not forget that the Ruhr itself on more than one occasion constituted the main arsenal where arms were forged for the aggressive wars of the German militarists.

The Paris agreements also open the way for carrying out atomic research work which would make possible the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons in West Germany as well as the supply of atomic weapons by other countries.

The West German army receives the possibility of having atomic weapons among its armaments. That means atomic weapons would fall into the hands of those who quite recently were creating the bloody Hitlerite new order, spreading death and destruction in Europe and aiming at annihilation of whole nations. It was they who destroyed millions of peaceful citizens in death camps—Poles, Russians, Jews, Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Frenchmen, Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, Belgians, Norwegians, and others.

That means that atomic weapons would be given into the hands of those who already today are announcing their plans for revenge in Europe.

Implementation of these agreements will greatly increase the threat of a destructive atomic war, with its destructive consequences for the people, especially for those residing in the most thickly populated areas of Europe.

The idea that the inclusion of a remilitarised West Germany in the West European Military Union will make it possible to confine the growth of German militarism to certain limits are regarded with natural mistrust by the people of Europe. Such attempts have been made earlier, but they failed. It is not possible to

secure peace in Europe by giving free rein to the revival of German militarism, simultaneously calming oneself by inventing certain guarantees against it, the ineffectiveness of which are obvious. In order to ensure peace in Europe it is necessary to make impossible the birth of German militarism itself.

The remilitarisation of West Germany means that the role and the influence of the militarists and the circles thirsting for revenge will continually increase. The unavoidable result of this position would be a further curtailment of democratic liberties in West Germany, and its conversion into a militaristic state.

It is typical that the Paris Agreements provided no clauses on the guaranteeing of democratic rights for the people of West Germany: on the other hand, however, the agreement bound the West German authorities to issue "Emergency Laws" which are obviously aimed against the democratic rights and liberties of the population.

The Paris Agreements, which give new life to German militarism, and give the militarists the real power and extraordinary rights, open the road to the creation of a military dictatorship in West Germany. These agreements are not only foreign to the interests of the German people, they are directly aimed against the German working class and at the throttling of the democratic forces in West Germany.

The conditions prescribed for West Germany by the Paris Agreements are in many particulars reminiscent of the situation in Germany shortly before Hitler seized power. It is well known that the right to "declare an emergency" possessed at that time by President Hindenburg was used by the German militarists to liquidate the democratic rights and liberties, to smash the workers' organisations and to establish the fascist dictatorship in Germany.

The Paris Agreements speak of the "ending of the occupation regime" and of the granting of a so-called "sovereignty" to West Germany. In reality however the "sovereignty" for West Germany which is mentioned in the Paris Agreement has the aim that the West German militarists and politicians of revenge are given the right to establish an army, an army which the initiators of the Paris Agreements intend to use as cannon fodder for their own purposes. At the same time the Paris Agreements force upon West Germany the extension until 1998 of the occupation of its territory by the troops of the USA, Great Britain and France, and thus envisage the conversion of West Germany into the main deployment ground for the aggressive aims of the USA in Europe. Under these circumstances it is not difficult to recognise how much the declarations about the alleged "sovereignty" of West Germany are worth, particularly when it is considered that according to the Paris Agreement all the main articles of the enslaving Bonn Treaty should remain in force. Despite the statements made by certain western statesman it is impossible to consider the Paris Agreements as anything except the practical rejection of a settlement of the German question, a long-term renunciation of the restoration of the unity of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis.

The plans for remilitarising West Germany and for including it in military groupings are today the main obstacle to the national reunification of Germany. This means that the removal of this obstacle would make possible a four-power agreement on the restoration of the unity and sovereignty of Germany, and on the holding, for this purpose, of free all-German elections with the proper regard for the interests of the German people.

To set up and arm a West German army 500,000 strong will cost, according to the estimates of Bonn politicians, about 100,000 million marks; these costs will fall with full weight on the shoulders of the working people of West Germany, particularly on the shoulders of the working class. This will produce for them a sharp reduction in their standard of living. The only people to reap an advantage from the remilitarisation of West Germany will be the great West German monopolies, and the biggest monopolies of the USA, Great Britain and France which are closely allied to them; these monopolies are already counting upon the high profits from the supply of arms to the newly created West German army. These arms dealers have often in the past made a lot of money from the wars which brought nothing but immeasurable suffering and privation to the peoples of Europe. Today the same thing is happening as happened before the second world war, when the German concerns turned out the weapons for Hitlerite aggression with the aid and direct participation of foreign and particularly of American monopolies.

Today in the state machinery of the USA the influence of those capitalist monopolies which contributed to the preparation and the outbreak of the Second World War is making itself felt ever more strongly.

The Paris Agreements show that the ruling circles in certain states, particularly the United States of America, are counting today on the rebirth of German militarism, and are attempting to rely on the remilitarisation of West Germany in attempting to carry out their imperialist plans.

These agreements will create a military bloc of the aggressive circles of the USA, Great Britain and France, together with German militarism. These agreements are a plot, conspired behind the backs of the German people, and the peoples of the other European states, who were consulted by nobody during the drafting of these agreements.

This aggressive bloc cannot serve the interests of peace and security in Europe. The creation of this bloc makes the entire situation in Europe more critical, and increases greatly the danger of a new world war.

The creation of the new military bloc is contrary to the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Alliance and Assistance of 1944, and the British-Soviet treaty of 1942 on cooperation and mutual aid after the war — treaties which lay down that France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union have to take joint measures in order to make impossible a new aggression on the part of German militarism. It is contrary to international agreements concluded by states participating in this conference and by other states — agreements aimed at guaranteeing peace and security for all states in Europe.

The remilitarisation of West Germany and its inclusion in military groupings cannot be reconciled with the international pledges for the prevention of a rebirth of German militarism which were entered into by the USA, Great Britain, and later France, in the Potsdam Agreement. This breach of duties which the USA, Great Britain and France took upon themselves in these agreements and treaties undermines confidence in mutual relations between the states, and is irreconcilably opposed to the interests of the security of the people of Europe.

It is claimed that the formation of this new military grouping is allegedly necessary for the security of the states participating in this block, although in reality nobody menaces these states. An attempt is made to justify the remilitarisation of West Germany and its inclusion in the military grouping formed by several western countries by claiming that it is necessary to proceed "from a position of strength" in dealing with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. It is claimed that this policy would contribute to the creation of favourable conditions for negotiations and for the settlement of international problems not yet settled. The

supporters of this policy, which has already discredited itself, do not conceal the fact that they would like to impose upon other states solutions which are favourable to the interests of the imperialist circles of certain western powers. In reality this shows the aims of world domination which these circles have. It should not be forgotten where people who attempt world mastery end up.

As is well known, there existed in the past military groupings of certain European states which were aimed against other European states. On the eve of the second world war an aggressive military group was established in the form of Hitlerite Germany and fascist Italy, joined by militaristic Japan. The organisers of this group, which was known under the title of "Anti-Comintern Pact" attempted to motivate the establishment of this group with "ideological" reasons.

In reality, however, this was the camouflage which they attempted to throw over the real aggressive character of this military bloc, which had set itself the aim of world domination.

As is well known the organisers of this militaristic grouping were mainly responsible for the unleashing of the second world war.

Something similar is going on today, when the organisers of this new military grouping attempt to justify its establishment by pointing out the different social systems in different states. Their declarations contain, however, just as little truth as the declarations issued by the initiators of the "Anti-Comintern Pact", who used this pact in order to prepare and unleash the last world war.

All this goes to show that the military grouping of a few western states with the participation of a re-militarised West Germany, whatever reasons may be given for its creation, not only cannot serve the cause of peace and security in Europe, but seriously complicates the situation in Europe and unavoidably brings about an increase in competitive armament with all the dangerous results which this entails for all European, and not only for European, states.

When on the side of the military grouping in Europe already named the armies, the air forces and other armaments are increased, and when aggressive German militarism is rebuilt, then the other states in Europe will be unavoidably driven to take effective steps for their own defence and to prevent an attack. Thus all states interested in preserving peace and security in Europe must strive to prevent a rebuilding of German militarism, to avoid the possibility of a forced arms race, and to contribute to uniting the efforts of all European states to preserve security in Europe.

Recognising that the solution of the German question is the main task in securing peace in Europe, the Governments of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, and the Albanian People's Republic believe that for the solution of the German problem the following are above all necessary:

The renunciation of the plans to remilitarise West Germany and to include it in military groupings; this would remove the main obstacle to the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis;

An agreement on the holding of all-German free elections in 1955, and the formation of an all-German government of a united, democratic peace-loving Germany on the basis of these elections.

After this the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany will finally become possible, which is necessary for securing peace in Europe.

It must be recognised that the withdrawal of occupation troops from the territory of Eeast and West Germany, as proposed by the Soviet Union, would contribute in a considerable degree to bringing together both parts of Germany and to the solution of the problem of the restoration of Germany unity.

The guaranteeing of peace in Europe demands that the states interested reach an agreement on the question of the unification of Germany which accords with the interests of all peace-loving people in Europe and with the interests of the German people themselves. The policy followed by the USA, France and Great Britain, the policy of remilitarising West Germany and including it in military groupings, excludes the possibility of reaching such an agreement. This policy not only does not serve to ensure European security, but is, in the eyes of all peace-loving people, the expression of a policy which endangers peace in Europe.

Real security can only be ensured in Europe when, instead of closed military groupings of European states facing each other, a system of collective security in Europe is created. This security system, based upon the participation of all European states, independent of their social and state system, would make it possible to unite the efforts of the European states in the interest of ensuring peace in Europe. Naturally the participation of the German people on an equal basis must be ensured in the solution of this all-European task.

The United States of America, together with the other states which bear the responsibility for the settlement of the German question, which is of decisive importance to ensure peace in Europe, could take part in such a system of collective security.

The all-European system of collective security must envisage that all states participating should pledge themselves to settle all causes of dissension which might arise between them according to the stipulations of the Charter of the United Nations, in such a way that peace and security in Europe are not endangered.

This system must lay down that at any time when, according to one of the participants, there is the danger of an armed attack in Europe, consultations must be held in order that effective measures may be taken to counter such a danger. In order that this system should be effective it must lay down that an attack on one or more states in Europe will be regarded as an attack on all participants in such an all-European treaty, and that every participant shall give the state which is attacked all support in its power, including armed assistance, in order to restore and preserve peace and security in Europe.

The creation of such an all-European system of collective security would meet fully the necessity for strengthening international cooperation in accordance with the principles of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the large and small nations, and of non-intervention in their internal affairs.

The creation of such a system of collective security would greatly facilitate the solution of the German problem, since it would exclude the conversion of West Germany into a militaristic state, and would create favourable conditions for the restoration of German unity.

The organisation of collective security in Europe and the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis — this is the path which will ensure the development of Germany as one of the great powers. In contrast to the militaristic path which Germany took in the past and which repeatedly led to the most serious consequences for the German nation, the reunification of Germany, under the conditions of the creation of collective security in Europe, would offer broad opportunities for the expansion of the German peace economy, industry and agriculture, for the development of extensive economic links between Germany and other countries, particularly with the countries of eastern Europe and the countries of Asia with their enormous populations and their inexhaustible resources. The development of Germany under conditions of peace and with the retention of the already existing economic

links between Germany and other states would open up broad markets for German industry, would ensure work for the population, and would contribute to the raising of the standard of living.

The future of Germany as a great power is thus intimately linked with the question as to whether it will take the path of peaceful development and cooperation with all other European states, or the path of preparation for a new war. The path of peaceful development and international cooperation taken by the German Democratic Republic leads to a rebirth of Germany and its prosperity. The other path, along which the German militarists wish to steer West Germany, leads to a new war and thus to the conversion of West Germany into a zone of fire and destruction.

All this shows that the true national interests of the German people are inextricably bound up with the interests of peace and the creation of an effective system of collective security in Europe.

The states participating in this conference unreservedly recognise the principles formulated by the Government of the USSR in its draft for an "All-European Treaty on Collective Security in Europe", and appeal to all European states to examine together these principles which accord with the needs of ensuring lasting peace in Europe.

They declare their readiness to discuss any other proposals on this subject with the view to working out a draft treaty on European security acceptable to all states interested.

The participants in this conference are deeply convinced that security in Europe, based upon the principles outlined above and strengthened by friendly relations between the states of Europe, would make it possible to bring to an end a state of affairs by which Europe is periodically plagued by frightful wars which inflict immeasurable sufferings upon the peoples.

In the coming period the discussion on the ratification of the Paris Agreements will take place in the parliaments of various western states. The official circles of certain states are steadily increasing their pressure on the parliaments and on public opinion in order to achieve the ratification of these treaties.

The governments of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Albanian People's Republic believe it to be their duty in this connection to draw the attention of all European states, and particularly the signatories of the Paris Agreements, to the fact that the ratification of these agreements will be an act aimed against the maintenance of peace, and aimed at the preparation of a new war in Europe.

Ratification will considerably complicate the situation in Europe, and will undermine the possibility of settling the unsolved European problems, and particularly the German question.

The ratification and putting into effect of these agreements, which increase the danger of war, will threaten the national security of the peace-loving states of Europe, and particularly the neighbours of Germany.

This danger arises from the fact that the signatories of the Paris Agreements continually develop their military and economic measures against the peace-loving states in Europe. Now they have gone so far that they have formed a military bloc with German militarism, that they are carrying out with their own hands the remilitarisation of West Germany, and that they threaten the future peaceful existence of those states not participating in their military grouping. The armed forces of the signatories of the Paris Agreements will now include the West German army, headed by Hitlerite generals.

Under these circumstances the further implementation of the "policy of strength" will be directly based upon restored German militarism, which will bring the danger of war in Europe much nearer.

The situation thus created places upon the agenda the unification of the efforts of the states participating in this conference to ensure their security. The peace-loving states are forced to take without delay measures to oppose the united forces of the peace-loving states to the aggressive forces of the military bloc of the western powers mentioned above.

The participants in this conference announce their decision that in the case of the ratification of the Paris Agreements they will take joint measures in the organisation of their armed forces and commands, and also other measures necessary for the strengthening of their defence abilities, to defend the peaceful work of their peoples, to guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and sovereign territory, and their defence against any possible aggression.

All these measures accord with the immutable right of the state to defend itself, with the United Nations Charter, and with the treaties and agreements concluded earlier which are aimed against a revival of German militarism and the prevention of a new aggression in Europe.

The states participating in this conference have agreed that if the Paris Agreements are ratified they will consider the situation once again in order to take the necessary measures to ensure their security and the maintenance of peace in Europe.

The states participating in this conference are firmly determined to press in the future for the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe, since they are convinced that only the joint efforts of the European states can provide the basis for a long-lasting peace in Europe. For this purpose they will also be ready in the future to cooperate with other European states which express the wish to take this path.

The government of the states participating in the Moscow Conference of European Countries for the Ensuring of Peace and Security in Europe are deeply convinced that their policy for securing peace and general security and the measures foreseen at this conference accord with the interests of our peoples and the interests of all other peace-loving peoples.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and the German Democratic Republic are engaged in their work of peaceful construction. Their efforts are aimed at a further growth in the economy and in culture, the steady raising of the living standards of the working people and at the same time the provision of a reliable protection for their great Socialist achievements. There is no power in the world capable of turning back the wheel of history and interrupting the building of Socialism in our countries.

The peoples of our states recognise that the Paris Agreements considerably increase the danger of a new war. They will not allow themselves to be caught napping by events.

Our peoples know their strength, their inexhaustible possibilities. Never before were the forces of peace and Socialism so mighty and united as today. Every attempt at attack, every attempt to unleash a war and to disturb the peaceful life of our peoples will meet an annihilating defence. In this case our peoples, with the sympathy and the support of the other peoples, would do everything to destroy the forces of aggression, so that our just cause may be triumphant.

Our peoples wish to live in peace and to maintain friendly relations with all other peoples. For this reason they will continue to defend in every way the cause of peace and general security, and to do everything necessary to ensure their further peaceful development and the necessary security of their states.